

CONVENTIONS & PLATFORMS, 1876.

Republican National Convention, 1876.

This body met in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the 14th of June, in pursuance of the following call:

The next Union Republican National Convention for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States will be held in the city of Cincinnati, on Wednesday, the fourteenth day of June, 1876, at 12 o'clock noon, and will consist of delegates from each State equal to twice the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, and of two delegates from each organized Territory and the District of Columbia.

In calling the conventions for the election of delegates, the committees of the several States are recommended to invite all Republican electors, and all other voters, without regard to past political differences or previous party affiliations, who are opposed to reviving sectional issues, and desire to promote friendly feeling and permanent harmony throughout the country by maintaining and enforcing all the constitutional rights of every citizen, including the full and free exercise of the right of suffrage without intimidation and without fraud; who are in favor of the continued prosecution and punishment of all official dishonesty, and of an economical administration of the Government by honest, faithful, and capable officers; who are in favor of making such reforms in government as experience may from time to time suggest; who are opposed to impairing the credit of the nation by depreciating any of its obligations, and in favor of sustaining in every way the national faith and financial honor; who hold that the common-school system is the nursery of American liberty, and should be maintained absolutely free from sectarian control; who believe that, for the promotion of these ends, the direction of the Government should continue to be confided to those who adhere to the principles of 1776, and support them as incorporated in the Constitution and the laws; and who are in favor of recognizing and strengthening the fundamental principle of National Unity in this Centennial Anniversary of the birth of the Republic.

E. D. MORGAN, *Chairman*,

WM. E. CHANDLER, *Secretary*.

Republican National Committee.

WASHINGTON, January 13, 1876.

At 12 o'clock it was called to order by EDWIN D. MORGAN, of New York, on whose motion, after some remarks, THEODORE M. POMEROY, of New York, was elected temporary President.

On motion, committees were appointed, consisting of one from each State and Territory, elected by the delegations respectively, on Permanent Organization; on Rules and Order of Business; on Credentials; and on Resolutions.

After some time, during which speeches were made by JOHN A. LOGAN, JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, EDWARD F. NOYES, HENRY HIGHLAND GARNET, WILLIAM A. HOWARD, and FREDERICK DOUGLASS, the Committee on Permanent Organization, through GEO. B. LORING, of Massachusetts, reported a list of officers, who were elected—EDWARD MCPHERSON, of Pennsylvania, being the permanent President.

June 15—After some preliminary business, JOHN CESSNA, of Pennsylvania, from the Committee on Rules and Order of Business, reported the following rules for the government of the Convention:

RULES AND ORDER OF BUSINESS.

RULE 1. Upon all subjects before the Convention the States shall be called in alphabetical order, and next the Territories and the District of Columbia.

RULE 2. Each State shall be entitled to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in Congress, according to the late apportionment, and each Territory and the District of Columbia shall be entitled to two votes. The votes of each delegation shall be reported by its chairman.

RULE 3. The report of the Committee on Credentials shall be disposed of before the report of the Committee on Platform and Resolutions is acted upon, and the report of the Committee of Platform and Resolutions shall be disposed of before the Convention proceeds to the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President.

RULE 4. In making the nominations for President and Vice-President, in no case shall the calling of the roll be dispensed with. When it shall appear that any candidate has received the majority of the votes cast, the President of the Convention shall announce the question to be: "Shall the nomination of the candidate be made unanimous?" but if no candidate shall have received a majority of the votes, the Chair shall direct the vote to be again taken, which shall be repeated until some candidate shall have received a majority of the votes cast; and when any State has announced its vote it shall so stand until the ballot is announced, unless in case of numerical error.

RULE 5. When a majority of the delegates of any two States shall demand that a vote be recorded, the same shall be taken by States, Territories and the District of Columbia; the Secretary calling the roll of the States and Territories in the order heretofore stated, and the District of Columbia.

RULE 6. In the record of the vote by States

the vote of each State, Territory and the District of Columbia, shall be announced by the Chairman, and in case the votes of any State, Territory or the District of Columbia shall be divided, the Chairman shall announce the number of votes cast for any candidate or for or against any proposition.

RULE 7. When the previous question shall be demanded by the majority of the delegates from any State, and the demand seconded by two or more States, and the call sustained by a majority of the Convention, the question will then be proceeded with and disposed of according to the rules of the House of Representatives in similar cases.

RULE 8. No member shall speak more than once upon the same question, nor longer than five minutes, unless by leave of the Convention; except that delegates presenting the name of a candidate shall be allowed ten minutes in presenting the name of such candidate.

RULE 9. The rules of the House of Representatives shall be the rules of this Convention, so far as they are applicable, and not inconsistent with the foregoing rules.

RULE 10. A Republican National Committee shall be appointed, to consist of one member from each State, Territory and District represented in this Convention. The roll shall be called, and the delegation from each State, Territory and District shall name, through their chairman, a person to act as a member of such committee.

Which were adopted.

The Committee on Credentials then made report. The majority of the committee reported through JOHN T. ENSOR, of Maryland, in favor of admitting the Haralson delegation from Alabama; the minority, through CHARLES N. HARRIS, of Nevada, in favor of the Spencer delegation. The minority report was rejected—yeas 354, nays 375, and the majority report then adopted. The Bowen delegation from the District of Columbia were seated, and the Conover delegation from Florida.

Resolutions.

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY, Chairman of the Committee,* reported the following:

When, in the economy of Providence, this

*The committee consisted of the following persons:

Arkansas—C. C. Waters; Arizona—R. C. McCormick; California—Chas. F. Reed; Connecticut—Jos. R. Hawley; Colorado—James B. Belford; Dakota—Andrew McHench; Delaware—Eli R. Sharp; Georgia—Henry M. Turner; Illinois—C. B. Farwell; Indiana—R. W. Thompson; Iowa—Hiram Price; Idaho—Austin Savage; Kansas—J. D. Thatcher; Kentucky—James Speed; Louisiana—Henry Demoss; Maine—Nelson Dingley jr.; Maryland—L. H. Steiner; Massachusetts—Edward L. Pierce; Michigan—H. P. Baldwin; Minnesota—J. E. Wakefield; Mississippi—C. W. Clarke; Missouri—R. T. Van Horn; Montana—W. F. Sanders; New Mexico—S. B. Axtell; Nebraska—A. R. Pinney; Nevada—J. P. Jones; New Hampshire—Chas. Burns; New Jersey—Frederick A. Potts; New York—Chas. B. Smith; North Carolina—P. C. Badger; Ohio—Edward Cowles; Oregon—H. K. Hines; Pennsylvania—H. W. Oliver; Rhode Island—Chas. Nourse; South Carolina—D. H. Chamberlain; Texas—E. J. Davis; Tennessee—A. A. Freeman; Utah—J. B. McKean; Vermont—G. H. Bigelow; Virginia—Wm. Miller; West Virginia—J. W. Davis; Wisconsin—Gen. Jas. H. Howe; Washington—Ilwood Evans; Wyoming—Wm. Hinton.

land was to be purged of human slavery, and when the strength of government of the people, by the people, and for the people, was to be demonstrated, the Republican party came into power. Its deeds have passed into history, and we look back to them with pride. Incited by their memories to high aims for the good of our country and mankind, and looking to the future with unfaltering courage, hope and purpose, we, the representatives of the party in National Convention assembled, make the following declarations of principles:

1. The United States of America is a Nation, not a league. By the combined workings of the National and State Governments, under their respective constitutions, the rights of every citizen are secured, at home and abroad, and the common welfare promoted.

2. The Republican party has preserved these Governments to the hundredth anniversary of the Nation's birth, and they are now embodiments of the great truths spoken at its cradle—"that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that for the attainment of these ends Governments have been instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Until these truths are cheerfully obeyed, or, if need be, vigorously enforced, the work of the Republican party is unfinished.

3. The permanent pacification of the Southern section of the Union and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their rights, is a duty to which the Republican party stands sacredly pledged. The power to provide for the enforcement of the principles embodied in the recent constitutional amendments, is vested by those amendments in the Congress of the United States, and we declare it to be the solemn obligation of the legislative and executive departments of the Government to put into immediate and vigorous exercise all their constitutional powers for removing any just causes of discontent on the part of any class, and for securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political and public rights. To this end we imperatively demand a Congress and a Chief Executive whose courage and fidelity to these duties shall not falter until these results are placed beyond dispute or recall.

4. In the first act of Congress signed by President Grant, the National Government assumed to remove any doubts of its purpose to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and "solemnly pledged its faith to make provision at the earliest practicable period for the redemption of the United States notes in coin." Commercial prosperity, public morals and National credit demand that this promise be fulfilled by a continuous and steady progress to specie payment.

5. Under the Constitution the President and heads of departments are to make nominations for office; the Senate is to advise and consent to appointments, and the House of Representatives is to accuse and prosecute faithless officers. The best interest of the public service demands

that these distinctions be respected ; that Senators and Representatives who may be judges and accusers should not dictate appointments to office. The invariable rule in appointments should have reference to the honesty, fidelity and capacity of the appointees, giving to the party in power those places where harmony and vigor of administration require its policy to be represented, but permitting all others to be filled by persons selected with sole reference to the efficiency of the public service, and the right of all citizens to share in the honor of rendering faithful service to the country.

6. We rejoice in the quickened conscience of the people concerning political affairs, and will hold all public officers to a rigid responsibility, and engage that the prosecution and punishment of all who betray official trusts shall be swift, thorough and unsparing.

7. The public school system of the several States is the bulwark of the American Republic, and with a view to its security and permanence we recommend an amendment to the Constitution of the United States forbidding the application of any public funds or property for the benefit of any schools or institutions under sectarian control.

8. The revenue necessary for current expenditures and the obligations of the public debt must be largely derived from duties upon importations, which, so far as possible, should be adjusted to promote the interests of American labor and advance the prosperity of the whole country.

9. We reaffirm our opposition to further grants of the public lands to corporations and monopolies, and demand that the National domain be devoted to free homes for the people.

10. It is the imperative duty of the Government so to modify existing treaties with European Governments, that the same protection shall be afforded to the adopted American citizen that is given to the native born ; and that all necessary laws should be passed to protect emigrants in the absence of power in the States for that purpose.

11. It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of the immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and material interests of the country.

12. The Republican party recognizes with approval the substantial advances recently made towards the establishment of equal rights for women by the many important amendments effected by Republican Legislatures in the laws which concern the personal and property relations of wives, mothers, and widows, and by the appointment and election of women to the superintendence of education, charities and other public trusts. The honest demands of this class of citizens for additional rights, privileges and immunities should be treated with respectful consideration.

13. The Constitution confers upon Congress sovereign power over the Territories of the United States for their government, and in the exercise of this power it is the right and duty of Congress to prohibit and extirpate, in the Territories, that relic of barbarism—polygamy ; and we demand such legislation as shall secure this

and the supremacy of American institutions in all the Territories.

14. The pledges which the Nation has given to her soldiers and sailors must be fulfilled, and a grateful people will always hold those who imperiled their lives for the country's preservation, in the kindest remembrance.

15. We sincerely deprecate all sectional feeling and tendencies. We therefore note with deep solicitude that the Democratic party counts, as its chief hope of success, upon the electoral vote of a united South, secured through the efforts of those who were recently arrayed against the Nation ; and we invoke the earnest attention of the country to the grave truth that a success thus achieved would reopen sectional strife and imperil National honor and human rights.

16. We charge the Democratic party with being the same in character and spirit as when it sympathized with treason ; with making its control of the House of Representatives the triumph and opportunity of the Nation's recent foes ; with reasserting and applauding in the National Capitol the sentiments of unrepentant rebellion ; with sending Union soldiers to the rear, and promoting Confederate soldiers to the front ; with deliberately proposing to repudiate the plighted faith of the Government ; with being equally false and imbecile upon the overshadowing financial questions ; with thwarting the ends of justice by its partisan mismanagements and obstruction of investigation ; with proving itself, through the period of its ascendancy in the Lower House of Congress, utterly incompetent to administer the Government ; and we warn the country against trusting a party thus alike unworthy, recalcant and incapable.

17. The National Administration merits commendation for its honorable work in the management of domestic and foreign affairs, and President Grant deserves the continued hearty gratitude of the American people for his patriotism and his eminent services, in war and in peace.

18. We present as our candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States two distinguished statesmen, of eminent ability and character, and conspicuously fitted for those high offices, and we confidently appeal to the American people to intrust the administration of their public affairs to Rutherford B. Hayes and William A. Wheeler.

[The last resolution was adopted after the nominations were made, on motion of Mr. SMITH, of New York.]

Upon the reading of the resolutions, EDWARD L. PIERCE, of Massachusetts, moved to strike out the eleventh resolution ; which, after debate, was disagreed to—yeas 215, nays 532.

EDMUND J. DAVIS, of Texas, moved to strike out the fourth resolution and substitute for it the following :

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to provide for carrying out the act known as the Resumption Act of Congress, to the end that the resumption of specie payments may not be longer delayed.

Which, after a brief debate, was disagreed to on a *viva voce* vote.

The resolutions were then adopted without a division.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.

Nominations were then made for President of the United States :

By CONNECTICUT—MARSHALL JEWELL.

By INDIANA—OLIVER P. MORTON.

By KENTUCKY—BENJAMIN H. BRISTOW.

By MAINE—JAMES G. BLAINE.

By NEW YORK—ROSCOE CONKLING.

By OHIO—RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

By PENNSYLVANIA—JOHN F. HARTRANFT.

After the speeches in favor of these nominees, the Convention adjourned till to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

June 16—Seven ballots were then taken with the following result :

	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th
HAYES.....	61	64	67	68	104	113	384
BLAINE.....	285	296	293	292	286	308	351
MORTON.....	125	120	113	108	95	85	...
BRISTOW.....	113	114	121	126	114	111	21
CONKLING.....	99	93	90	84	82	81	...
HARTRANFT.....	58	63	68	71	69	50	...
JEWELL.....	11	(withdrawn.)					
WM. A. WHEELER.....	3	3	2	2	2	2	...
ELIHU B. WASHBURNE.....	...	1	1	3	3	5	...

Whole No. of votes.....	754	754	755	754	755	755	756
Necessary to a choice.....	378	378	378	378	378	378	379

On motion of Mr. FRYE of Maine, Governor HAYES was unanimously declared the nominee of the Convention.

MESSRS. WILLIAM A. WHEELER of New York, STEWART L. WOODFORD of New York, MARSHALL JEWELL of Connecticut, FREDERICK T. FRELINGHUYSEN of New Jersey, and JOSEPH R. HAWLEY of Connecticut, were nominated for Vice-President ; but before the roll-call was completed, it being apparent that WILLIAM A. WHEELER had received a majority of the votes cast, other candidates were by consent withdrawn, and he was unanimously declared the nominee of the Convention.

After the transaction of some unimportant business, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

NOTE—On the second ballot for a candidate for President, four delegates from Pennsylvania rose to a question of privilege, and demanded that under the rules of the Convention they had the right to record their votes independently of a majority of the delegation. The CHAIR held, that under the Sixth Rule of the Convention, which was the paramount law on the subject, they had this right. The ruling was appealed from, and after discussion, sustained, on a vote by States—yeas 395, nays 354.

Gov. Hayes' Letter of Acceptance.

COLUMBUS, O., July 8, 1876.

To the HONS. EDWARD MCPHERSON, WM. A. HOWARD, JOS. H. RAINES, and others, Committee of the National Republican Convention.

GENTLEMEN : In reply to your official communication of June 17, by which I am informed of my nomination for the office of President of the United States by the Republican National Convention at Cincinnati, I accept the nomination with gratitude, hoping that, under Providence, I shall be able, if elected, to execute the duties

of the high office as a trust for the benefit of all the people. I do not deem it necessary to enter upon any extended examination of the declaration of principles made by the Convention. The resolutions are in accord with my views, and I heartily concur in the principles they announce. In several of the resolutions, however, questions are considered which are of such importance that I deem it proper to briefly express my convictions in regard to them. The fifth resolution adopted by the Convention is of paramount interest. More than forty years ago a system of making appointments to office grew up, based upon the maxim "to the victors belong the spoils." The old rule, the true rule, that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only real qualification for office, and that there is no other claim, gave place to the idea that party services were to be chiefly considered. All parties in practice have adopted this system. It has been essentially modified since its first introduction. It has not, however, been improved. At first the President, either directly or through the heads of department, made all the appointments, but gradually the appointing power, in many cases, passed into the control of members of Congress. The offices in these cases have become not merely rewards for party services, but rewards for services to party leaders. This system destroys the independence of the separate departments of the Government. "It tends directly to extravagance and official incapacity." It is a temptation to dishonesty; it hinders and impairs that careful supervision and strict accountability by which alone faithful and efficient public service can be secured; it obstructs the prompt removal and sure punishment of the unworthy; in every way it degrades the civil service and the character of the Government. It is felt, I am confident, by a large majority of the members of Congress, to be an intolerable burden and an unwarrantable hindrance to the proper discharge of their legitimate duties. It ought to be abolished. The reform should be thorough, radical, and complete. We should return to the principles and practice of the founders of the Government—supplying by legislation, when needed, that which was formerly the established custom. They neither expected nor desired from the public officers any partisan service. They meant that public officers should give their whole service to the Government and to the people. They meant that the officer should be secure in his tenure as long as his personal character remained untarnished and the performance of his duties satisfactory. If elected, I shall conduct the administration of the Government upon these principles, and all constitutional powers vested in the Executive will be employed to establish this reform. The declaration of principles by the Cincinnati Convention makes no announcement in favor of a single Presidential term. I do not assume to add to that declaration, but believing that the restoration of the civil service to the system established by Washington and followed by the early Presidents can be best accomplished by an Executive who is under no temptation to use the patronage of his office to promote his own re-election, I desire to perform what I regard as a duty in stating now

my inflexible purpose, if elected, not to be a candidate for election to a second term.

On the currency question I have frequently expressed my views in public, and I stand by my record on this subject. I regard all the laws of the United States relating to the payment of the public indebtedness, the legal tender notes included, as constituting a pledge and moral obligation of the Government, which must in good faith be kept. It is my conviction that the feeling of uncertainty inseparable from an irredeemable paper currency, with its fluctuations of value, is one of the great obstacles to a revival of confidence and business, and to a return of prosperity. That uncertainty can be ended in but one way—the resumption of specie payments. But the longer the instability of our money system is permitted to continue, the greater will be the injury inflicted upon our economical interests and all classes of society. If elected, I shall approve every appropriate measure to accomplish the desired end; and shall oppose any step backward. The resolution with respect to the public school system is one which should receive the hearty support of the American people. Agitation upon this subject is to be apprehended, until, by constitutional amendment the schools are placed beyond all danger of sectarian control or interference. The Republican party is pledged to secure such an amendment.

The resolution of the Convention on the subject of the permanent pacification of the country, and the complete protection of all its citizens in the free enjoyment of all their constitutional rights, is timely and of great importance. The condition of the Southern States attracts the attention and commands the sympathy of the people of the whole Union. In their progressive recovery from the effects of the war, their first necessity is an intelligent and honest administration of government which will protect all classes of citizens in their political and private rights. What the South most needs is "peace," and peace depends upon the supremacy of the law. There can be no enduring peace if the constitutional rights of any portion of the people are habitually disregarded. A division of political parties resting merely upon sectional lines is always unfortunate and may be disastrous. The welfare of the South, alike with that of every other part of this country, depends upon the attractions it can offer to labor and immigration, and to capital. But laborers will not go, and capital will not be ventured where the Constitution and the laws are set at defiance, and distraction, apprehension, and alarm take the place of peace-loving, and law-abiding social life. All parts of the Constitution are sacred and must be sacredly observed—the parts that are new no less than the parts that are old. The moral and national prosperity of the Southern States can be most effectually advanced by a hearty and generous recognition of the rights of all, by all—a recognition without reserve or exception. With such a recognition fully accorded it will be practicable to promote, by the influence of all legitimate agencies of the General Government, the efforts of the people of those

States to obtain for themselves the blessings of honest and capable local government. If elected, I shall consider it not only my duty, but it will be my ardent desire to labor for the attainment of this end.

Let me assure my countrymen of the Southern States that if I shall be charged with the duty of organizing an administration, it will be one which will regard and cherish their truest interests—the interests of the white and of the colored people both, and equally; and which will put forth its best efforts in behalf of a civil policy which will wipe out forever the distinction between North and South in our common country. With a civil service organized upon a system which will secure purity, experience, efficiency, and economy, a strict regard for the public welfare solely in appointments, and the speedy, thorough, and unsparing prosecution and punishment of all public officers who betray official trusts; with a sound currency; with education unsectarian and free to all; with simplicity and frugality in public and private affairs, and with a fraternal spirit of harmony pervading the people of all sections and classes, we may reasonably hope that the second century of our existence as a nation will, by the blessing of God, be preëminent as an era of good feeling and a period of progress, prosperity, and happiness.

Very respectfully, your fellow-citizen,

R. B. HAYES.

Mr. Wheeler's Acceptance.

MALONE, July 15, 1876.

Hon. Edward McPherson, and others, of the Committee of the Republican National Convention:

GENTLEMEN:—I received, on the 6th inst., your communication advising me that I had been unanimously nominated by the National Convention of the Republican party, held at Cincinnati on the 14th ult., for the office of Vice-President of the United States; and requesting my acceptance of the same, and asking my attention to the summary of Republican doctrines contained in the platform adopted by the Convention.

A nomination made with such unanimity implies a confidence on the part of the Convention which inspires my profound gratitude. It is accepted with a sense of the responsibility which may follow. If elected, I shall endeavor to perform the duties of the office in the fear of the Supreme Ruler, and in the interest of the whole country.

To the summary of doctrines enunciated by the Convention I give my cordial assent. The Republican party has intrenched in the organic law of our land the doctrine that liberty is the supreme, unchangeable law for every foot of American soil. It is the mission of that party to give full effect to this principle by "securing to every American citizen complete liberty and exact equality in the exercise of all civil, political and public rights." This will be accomplished only when the American citizen, without regard to color, shall wear this panoply of citizenship as fully and as securely in the can-

brakes of Louisiana as on the banks of the St. Lawrence.

Upon the question of our Southern relations, my views were recently expressed as a member of the Committee of the United States House of Representatives upon Southern Affairs. Those views remain unchanged, and were thus expressed :

"We of the North delude ourselves in expecting that the masses of the South, so far behind in many of the attributes of enlightened improvement and civilization, are, in the brief period of ten or fifteen years, to be transformed into our model Northern communities. That can only come through a long course of patient waiting, to which no one can now set certain bounds. There will be a good deal of unavoidable friction, which will call for forbearance, and which will have to be relieved by the temperate, fostering care of the government. One of the most potent, if not indispensable agencies in this direction, will be the devising of some system to aid in the education of the masses. The fact that there are whole counties in Louisiana in which there is not a solitary school-house, is full of suggestion. We compelled these people to remain in the Union, and now duty and interest demand that we leave no just means untried to make them good, loyal citizens. How to diminish the friction, how to stimulate the elevation of this portion of our country, are problems addressing themselves to our best and wisest statesmanship. The foundation for these efforts must be laid in satisfying the Southern people that they are to have equal, exact justice accorded to them. Give them, to the fullest extent, every blessing which the government confers upon the most favored—give them no just cause for complaint, and then hold them, by every necessary means, to an exact, rigid observance of all their duties and obligations under the Constitution and its amendments to secure to *all* within their borders manhood and citizenship, with every right thereto belonging."

The just obligations to public creditors, created when the government was in the throes of threatened dissolution, and as an indispensable condition of its salvation—guaranteed by the lives and blood of thousands of its brave defenders—are to be kept with religious faith, as are all the pledges subsidiary thereto and confirmatory thereof.

In my judgment the pledge of Congress of January 14, 1875, for the redemption of the

notes of the United States in coin is the plighted faith of the nation, and national honor, simple honesty, and justice to the people whose permanent welfare and prosperity are dependent upon true money, as the basis of their pecuniary transactions, all demand the scrupulous observance of this pledge, and it is the duty of Congress to supplement it with such legislation as shall be necessary for its strict fulfillment.

In our system of government intelligence must give safety and value to the ballot. Hence the common schools of the land should be preserved in all their vigor ; while, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution, they and all their endowments should be secured by every possible and proper guaranty against every form of sectarian influence or control.

There should be the strictest economy in the expenditures of the government consistent with its effective administration, and all unnecessary offices should be abolished. Offices should be conferred only upon the basis of high character and particular fitness, and should be administered only as public trusts, and not for private advantage.

The foregoing are chief among the cardinal principles of the Republican party, and to carry them into full, practical effect is the work it now has in hand. To the completion of its great mission we address ourselves in hope and confidence, cheered and stimulated by the recollection of its past achievements ; remembering that, under God, it is to that party we are indebted in this centennial year of our existence for a preserved, unbroken Union ; for the fact that there is no master or slave throughout our broad domains, and that emancipated millions look upon the ensign of the Republic as the symbol of the fulfilled declaration that all men are created free and equal, and the guaranty of their own equality, under the law, with the most highly favored citizen of the land.

To the intelligence and conscience of all who desire good government, good will, good money and universal prosperity, the Republican party, not unmindful of the imperfection and shortcomings of human organizations, yet with the honest purpose of its masses promptly to retrieve all errors and to summarily punish all offenders against the laws of the country, confidently submits its claims for the continued support of the American people.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

Democratic National Convention.

Call for the Convention.

The National Democratic Committee, to whom is delegated the power of fixing the time and place of holding the National Democratic Convention of 1876, have appointed Tuesday, the 27th day of June next, noon, as the time, and selected St. Louis as the place, of holding such Convention. Each State will be entitled to a representation equal to double the number of its Senators and Representatives in the Congress of the United States, and the Territory of Colorado, whose admission in July as a State will give it a vote in the next electoral college, is also invited to send delegates to the Convention. Democratic, Conservative and other citizens of the United States, irrespective of past political associations, desiring to coöperate with the Democratic party in its present efforts and objects, are cordially invited to join in sending delegates to the National Convention. Coöperation is desired from all persons who would change an administration that has suffered the public credit to become and remain inferior to other and less-favored nations; has permitted commerce to be taken away by foreign powers; has stifled trade by unjust, unequal and pernicious legislation; has imposed unusual taxation and rendered it most troublesome; has changed growing prosperity to widespread suffering and want; has squandered the public moneys recklessly and defiantly, and shamefully used the power that should have been swift to punish crime, to protect it.

For these and other reasons the National Democratic party deem the public danger imminent, and earnestly desirous of securing to our country the blessing of an economical, pure and free government, cordially invite the coöperation of their fellow-citizens in the effort to attain this object.

AUGUSTUS SCHELL, *Chairman.*

The Convention met as per the call, and Mr. SCHELL, after making some remarks, nominated HENRY WATTERSON, of Kentucky, as temporary chairman, who was elected.

The rules of the last National Democratic Convention were adopted. Committees on Credentials, Permanent Organization and on Resolutions were appointed.

Adjourned till 5 o'clock, p. m.

The Territories and the District of Columbia were given the right of representation as States, but not the right to vote.

The Committee on Permanent Organization, through Mr. HANNA, reported a list of officers, with Gen. JOHN A. McCLEARNAND, of Illinois, as the permanent President.

Adjourned till to-morrow at 11 o'clock.

June 28—The convention met, listened to speeches from Col. WM. P. BRECKINRIDGE, of Kentucky, Hon. B. GRATZ BROWN, of Missouri, Hon. WM. A. WALLACE, of Pennsylvania, Hon. JAMES R. DOOLITTLE, of Wisconsin, and others.

At 2½ o'clock the convention re-assembled, and the Committee on Resolutions made the following report through Mr. DORSHEIMER, of New York:

We, the delegates of the Democratic party of the United States in National Convention assembled, do hereby declare the administration of the Federal Government to be in urgent need of immediate reform; do hereby enjoin upon the nominees of this Convention, and of the Democratic party in each State, a zealous effort and coöperation to this end; and do hereby appeal to our fellow-citizens of every former political connection to undertake with us this first and most pressing patriotic duty.

For the Democracy of the whole country, we do here re-affirm our faith in the permanence of the Federal Union, our devotion to the Constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies that engendered civil war, and do here record our steadfast confidence in the perpetuity of republican self-government.

In absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority—the vital principle of republics; in the supremacy of the civil over the military authority; in the total separation of Church and State, for the sake alike of civil and religious freedom; in the equality of all citizens before just laws of their own enactment; in the liberty of individual conduct, unvexed by sumptuary laws; in the faithful education of the rising generation, that they may preserve, enjoy, and transmit these best conditions of human happiness and hope, we behold the noblest products of a hundred years of changeful history; but while upholding the bond of our Union and great charter of these our rights, it behooves a free people to practice also that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty.

Reform is necessary to rebuild and establish in the hearts of the whole people, the Union, eleven years ago happily rescued from the danger of a secession of States; but now to be saved from a corrupt centralism which, after inflicting upon ten States the rapacity of carpet-bag tyrannies, has honeycombed the offices of the Federal Government itself with incapacity, waste, and fraud; infected States and municipalities with the contagion of misrule, and locked fast the prosperity of an industrious people in the paralysis of "hard times."

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit, and maintain the national honor.

We denounce the failure, for all these eleven years of peace, to make good the promise of the legal-tender notes, which are a changing standard of value in the hands of the people, and the non-payment of which is a disregard of the plighted faith of the nation.

We denounce the improvidence which, in eleven years of peace, has taken from the people in Federal taxes thirteen times the whole

amount of the legal-tender notes, and squandered four times their sum in useless expense without accumulating any reserve for their redemption.

We denounce the financial inbecility and immorality of that party, which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advance toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption, by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while annually professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto. As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875 and we here demand its repeal.

We demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment.

We believe such a system, well devised, and, above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of all business transactions are performed—a system open, public, and inspiring general confidence, would from the day of its adoption bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people.

Reform is necessary in the sum and modes of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust, and labor lightly burdened.

We denounce the present Tariff, levied upon nearly 4,000 articles, as a master-piece of injustice, inequality and false pretence. It yields a dwindling, not a yearly rising revenue. It has impoverished many industries to subsidize a few. It prohibits imports that might purchase the products of American labor. It has degraded American commerce from the first to an inferior rank on the high seas. It has cut down the sales of American manufactures at home and abroad and depleted the returns of American agriculture—an industry followed by half our people. It costs the people five times more than it produces to the Treasury, obstructs the processes of production, and wastes the fruits of labor. It promotes fraud, fosters smuggling, enriches dishonest officials, and bankrupts honest merchants. We demand that all Custom House taxation shall be only for revenue.

Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense—Federal, State, and Municipal. Our Federal taxation has swollen from sixty millions gold, in 1860, to four hundred and fifty millions currency, in 1870; our aggregate taxation from one hundred and fifty-four millions gold, in 1860, to seven hundred and thirty millions currency, in 1870; or in one decade from less than five dollars per head to more than eighteen dollars per head. Since the peace, the people have paid to their tax gatherers more than thrice the

sum of the national debt, and more than twice that sum for the Federal Government alone. We demand a rigorous frugality in every department, and from every officer of the government.

Reform is necessary to put a stop to the profligate waste of public lands, and their diversion from actual settlers by the party in power, which has squandered 200,000,000 of acres upon railroads alone, and out of more than thrice that aggregate has disposed of less than a sixth directly to tillers of the soil.

Reform is necessary to correct the omissions of a Republican Congress, and the errors of our treaties and our diplomacy which have stripped our fellow citizens of foreign birth and kindred race recrossing the Atlantic, of the shield of American citizenship, and have exposed our brethren of the Pacific coast to the incursions of a race not sprung from the same great parent stock, and in fact now by law denied citizenship through naturalization as being neither accustomed to the traditions of a progressive civilization nor exercised in liberty under equal laws. We denounce the policy which thus discards the liberty-loving German and tolerates a revival of the coolie trade in Mongolian women imported for immoral purposes and Mongolian men held to perform servile labor contracts, and demand such modification of the treaty with the Chinese Empire or such legislation within constitutional limitations as shall prevent further importation or immigration of the Mongolian race.

Reform is necessary and can never be effected but by making it the controlling issue of the elections, and lifting it above the two false issues with which the office-holding class and the party in power seek to smother it:

1. The false issue with which they would enkindle sectarian strife in respect to the public schools, of which the establishment and support belong exclusively to the several States, and which the Democratic party has cherished from their foundation, and is resolved to maintain without prejudice or preference for any class, sect or creed, and without largesses from the treasury to any.

2. The false issue by which they seek to light anew the dying embers of sectional hate between kindred peoples once estranged, but now reunited in one indivisible republic and a common destiny.

Reform is necessary in the Civil Service. Experience proves that efficient, economical conduct of the governmental business is not possible if its civil service be subject to change at every election, be a prize fought for at the ballot-box, be a brief reward of party zeal, instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency and held for fidelity in the public employ; that the dispensing of patronage should neither be a tax upon the time of all our public men, nor the instrument of their ambition. Here again promises falsified in the performance, attest that the party in power can work out no practical or salutary reform.

Reform is necessary even more in the higher grades of the public service. President, Vice-President, Judges, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers, these and all others in authority

are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a public trust.

When the annals of this Republic show the disgrace and censure of a Vice-President; a late Speaker of the House of Representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three Senators profiting secretly by their votes as law-makers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late House of Representatives exposed in jobbery; a late Secretary of the Treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late Attorney-General misappropriating public funds; a Secretary of the Navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors with his department; an Ambassador to England censured in a dishonorable speculation; the President's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a Secretary of War impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete, that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disease of one political organization infect the body politic, and lest by making no change of men or parties we get no change of measures and no real reform.

All these abuses, wrongs, and crimes, the product of sixteen years' ascendancy of the Republican party, create a necessity for reform confessed by Republicans themselves; but their reformers are voted down in convention and displaced from the Cabinet. The party's mass of honest voters is powerless to resist the 80,000 office-holders, its leaders and guides.

Reform can only be had by a peaceful civic revolution. We demand a change of system, a change of administration, a change of parties, that we may have a change of measures and of men.

Resolved, That this Convention, representing the Democratic party of the United States, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of Representatives in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal Government, in cutting down salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities, and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misinterpretation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

Resolved, That the soldiers and sailors of the Republic and the widows and orphans of those who have fallen in battle have a just claim upon the care, protection, and gratitude of their fellow-citizens.

[The Committee consisted of the following persons: *Alabama*, Leroy P. Walker; *Arkansas*, L. V. Maguire; *California*, John S. Hager; *Colorado*, F. J. Marshall; *Connecticut*, R. D. Hubbard; *Delaware*, George Gray; *Florida*, John Westcott; *Georgia*, C. F. Howell; *Illinois*, John A. McClelland; *Indiana*, D. W. Voorhees; *Iowa*, H. H. Trimble; *Kansas*, Thomas L. Davis; *Kentucky*, Alvin Duval; *Louisiana*, R. H. Mann; *Maine*, D. R. Hastings; *Maryland*, George Freamer; *Massachusetts*, Edward Avery; *Michigan*, William L.

Baneroff; *Minnesota*, Daniel Bucks; *Mississippi*, A. M. Clayton; *Missouri*, C. H. Hardin; *Nebraska*, George L. Emlen; *Nevada*, A. C. Ellis; *New Hampshire*, E. C. Barley; *New Jersey*, Joseph Gates; *New York*, William Dorsheimer; *North Carolina*, Thomas L. Clingman; *Ohio*, Thomas Ewing; *Oregon*, M. V. Brown; *Pennsylvania*, Malcolm Hay; *Rhode Island*, W. B. Beach; *South Carolina*, Sam. McGowan; *Tennessee*, John C. Brown; *Texas*, Ashbel Smith; *Vermont*, James H. Williams; *Virginia*, John A. Meredith; *West Virginia*, John J. Davis; *Wisconsin*, Alex. Mitchell.

The above is believed to be a correct copy of the Platform as adopted. For a time, some confusion existed on this question, caused by the publication in the *N. Y. Sun*, of July 7, 1876, (and probably other papers,) of a copy, purporting to be "official," but which was noticeably inaccurate and incomplete.—EDITOR.]

Pending the report,

MR. THOMAS EWING, of Ohio, presented the following minority report:

The undersigned members of the Committee recommend that the following clause in the resolutions reported by the Committee be stricken out: "As such hindrance we denounce the resumption clause of the act of 1875, and we here demand its repeal." And they recommend that there be substituted for that clause the following: "The law for the resumption of specie payments on the 1st of January, 1879, having been enacted by the Republican party without deliberation in Congress or discussion before the people, and being both ineffective to secure its objects and highly injurious to the business of the country, ought to be forthwith repealed."

T. EWING, Ohio.

D. W. VOORHEES, Indiana.

J. C. BROWN, Tennessee.

MALCOLM HAY, Penn.

H. H. TRIMBLE, Iowa.

J. J. DAVIS, West Virginia.

T. L. DAVIS, Kansas.

E. H. HARDIN, Missouri.

After debate, the Convention rejected the minority report—yeas 219, nays 550.

The Platform, as reported, was then adopted—yeas 651, nays 83.

NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES.

By DELAWARE—THOMAS F. BAYARD.

By INDIANA—THOMAS A. HENDRICKS.

By NEW JERSEY—JOEL PARKER.

By NEW YORK—SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

By OHIO—WILLIAM ALLEN.

By PENNSYLVANIA—WINFIELD S. HANCOCK.

After speech making and seconding these nominations, the Convention balloted, and with this result:

	1st.	2d.
Samuel J. Tilden.....	417	535
Thomas A. Hendricks.....	140	60
Winfield S. Hancock.....	75	59
William Allen.....	56	54
Thomas F. Bayard.....	33	11
Joel Parker.....	18	18
Allen G. Thurman.....	00	7
	739	744

Mr. TILDEN's nomination was made unanimous, and the Convention adjourned till to-morrow.

June 29—Hon. THOMAS A. HENDRICKS, of Indiana, was nominated by acclamation.

Mr. WEBBER, of Michigan, offered this resolution:

Resolved, That it be recommended to future National Democratic Conventions, as the sense of the Democracy here in Convention assembled, that the so-called two-thirds rule be abolished as unwise and unnecessary; and that the States be requested to instruct their delegates to the Democratic National Convention which is to be held in 1880 whether it is desirable to continue the two-thirds rule longer in force in the National Conventions, and that the National Committee insert such request in their call for the Convention.

A division of the question was called, to end with the word "unnecessary."

The first division was disagreed to, and the second agreed to.

After transacting some routine business the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Gov. Tilden's Letter of Acceptance.

ALBANY, July 31, 1876.

GENTLEMEN: When I had the honor to receive a personal delivery of your letter on behalf of the Democratic National Convention, held on the 28th of June at St. Louis, advising me of my nomination as the candidate of the constituency represented by that body for the office of President of the United States, I answered that, at my earliest convenience, and in conformity with usage, I would prepare and transmit to you a formal acceptance. I now avail myself of the first interval in unavoidable occupations to fulfill that engagement. The convention, before making its nominations, adopted a declaration of principles, which, as a whole, seems to me a wise exposition of the necessities of our country, and of the reforms needed to bring back the Government to its true functions, to restore purity of administration, and to renew the prosperity of the people. But some of these reforms are so urgent that they claim more than a passing approval.

The necessity of a reform "in the scale of public expense—Federal, State, and Municipal,"—and "in the modes of Federal taxation," justifies all the prominence given to it in the declaration of the St. Louis Convention. The present depression in all the business and industries of the people, which is depriving labor of its employment, and carrying want into so many homes, has its principal cause in excessive Governmental consumption. Under the illusions of a specious prosperity engendered by the false policies of the Federal Government, a waste of capital has been going on ever since the peace of 1865, which could only end in universal disaster. The Federal taxes of the last eleven years reach the gigantic sum of four thousand five hundred millions. Local taxation has amounted to two-thirds as much more. The vast aggregate is not less than

seven thousand five hundred millions. This enormous taxation followed a civil conflict that had greatly impaired our aggregate wealth, and had made a prompt reduction of expenses indispensable. It was aggravated by most unscientific and ill-adjusted methods of taxation that increased the sacrifices of the people far beyond the receipts of the Treasury. It was aggravated, moreover, by a financial policy which tended to diminish the energy, skill and economy of production, and the frugality of private consumption, and induced miscalculation in business and an unremunerative use of capital and labor. Even in prosperous times, the daily wants of industrious communities press closely upon their daily earnings. The margin of possible national savings is at best a small percentage of national earnings. Yet now for these eleven years governmental consumption has been a larger portion of the national earnings than the whole people can possibly save even in prosperous times for all new investments. The consequences of these errors are now a present public calamity. But they were never doubtful, never invisible. They were necessary and inevitable, and were foreseen and depicted when the waves of that fictitious prosperity ran highest. In a speech made by me on the 24th of September, 1868, it was said of these taxes:

"They bear heavily upon every man's income, upon every industry and every business in the country, and year by year they are destined to press still more heavily, unless we arrest the system that gives rise to them. It was comparatively easy when values were doubling under repeated issues of legal tender paper money, to pay out of the froth of our growing and apparent wealth these taxes, but when values recede and sink toward their natural scale, the tax-gatherer takes from us not only our income, not only our profits, but also a portion of our capital. * * * I do not wish to exaggerate or alarm; I simply say that we cannot afford the costly and ruinous policy of the Radical majority of Congress. We cannot afford that policy toward the South. We cannot afford the magnificent and oppressive centralism into which our Government is being converted. We cannot afford the present magnificent scale of taxation."

To the Secretary of the Treasury I said, early in 1865:

"There is no royal road for a government more than for an individual or a corporation. What you want to do now is to cut down your expenses and live within your income. I would give all the legerdemain of finance and financiering—I would give the whole of it for the old, homely maxim, 'Live within your income.'"

This reform will be resisted at every step, but it must be pressed persistently. We see to-day the immediate representatives of the people in one branch of Congress, while struggling to reduce expenditures, compelled to confront the menace of the Senate and the Executive that unless the objectionable appropriations be consented to, the operations of the Government thereunder shall suffer detriment

or cease. In my judgment an amendment of the Constitution ought to be devised separating into distinct bills the appropriations for the various departments of the public service, and excluding from each bill all appropriations for other objects and all independent legislation. In that way alone can the revisory power of each of the two houses and of the Executive be preserved and exempted from the moral duress which often compels assent to objectionable appropriations rather than stop the wheels of Government.

An accessory cause enhancing the distress in business is to be found in the systematic and insupportable misgovernment imposed upon the States of the South. Besides the ordinary effects of ignorant and dishonest administration, it has inflicted upon them enormous issues of fraudulent bonds, the scanty avails of which were wasted or stolen, and the existence of which is a public discredit, tending to bankruptcy or repudiation. Taxes, generally oppressive, in some instances have confiscated the entire income of property and totally destroyed its marketable value. It is impossible that these evils should not re-act upon the prosperity of the whole country. The nobler motives of humanity concur with the material interests of all in requiring that every obstacle be removed, to a complete and durable reconciliation between kindred populations once unnaturally estranged, on the basis recognized by the St. Louis platform, of the "Constitution of the United States, with its amendments universally accepted as a final settlement of the controversies which engendered civil war." But, in aid of a result so beneficent, the moral influence of every good citizen, as well as every governmental authority, ought to be exerted, not alone to maintain their just equality before the law, but likewise to establish a cordial fraternity and good will among citizens, whatever their race or color, who are now united in the one destiny of a common self-government. If the duty shall be assigned to me, I should not fail to exercise the powers with which the laws and the Constitution of our country clothe its Chief Magistrate, to protect all its citizens, whatever their former condition, in every political and personal right.

"Reform is necessary," declares the St. Louis Convention, "to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit and maintain the national honor;" and it goes on to "demand a judicious system of preparation by public economies, by official retrenchments, and by wise finance, which shall enable the nation soon to assure the whole world of its perfect ability and its perfect readiness to meet any of its promises at the call of the creditor entitled to payment." The object demanded by the Convention is a resumption of specie payments on the legal-tender notes of the United States. That would not only "restore the public credit" and "maintain the national honor," but it would "establish a sound currency" for the people. The methods by which this object is to be pursued, and the means by which it is to be attained, are disclosed by what the Convention demanded for the future, and by what it denounced in the past.

Resumption of specie payments by the Government of the United States on its legal-tender notes would establish specie payments by all the banks on all their notes. The official statement, made on the 12th of May, shows that the amount of the bank notes was three hundred millions, less twenty millions held by themselves. Against these two hundred and eighty millions of notes the banks held one hundred and forty-one millions of legal-tender notes, or a little more than fifty per cent. of their amount. But they also held on deposit in the Federal Treasury, as security for these notes, bonds of the United States worth in gold about three hundred and sixty millions, available and current in all the foreign money markets. In resuming, the banks, even if it were possible for all their notes to be presented for payment, would have five hundred millions of specie funds to pay two hundred and eighty millions of notes, without contracting their loans to their customers, or calling on any private debtor for payment. Suspended banks undertaking to resume have usually been obliged to collect from needy borrowers the means to redeem excessive issues and to provide reserves. A vague idea of distress is, therefore, often associated with the process of resumption. But the conditions which caused distress in those former instances do not now exist. The Government has only to make good its own promises, and the banks can take care of themselves without distressing anybody. The Government is, therefore, the sole delinquent.

The amount of the legal-tender notes of the United States now outstanding is less than three hundred and seventy millions of dollars, besides thirty-four millions of dollars of fractional currency. How shall the Government make these notes at all times as good as specie? It has to provide, in reference to the mass which would be kept in use by the wants of business, a central reservoir of coin, adequate to the adjustment of the temporary fluctuations of international balances, and as a guaranty against transient drains artificially created by panic or by speculation. It has also to provide for the payment in coin of such fractional currency as may be presented for redemption, and such inconsiderable portions of the legal tenders as individuals may from time to time desire to convert for special use, or in order to lay by in coin their little stores of money.

To make the coin now in the Treasury available for the objects of this reserve, to gradually strengthen and enlarge that reserve, and to provide for such other exceptional demands for coin as may arise, does not seem to me a work of difficulty. If wisely planned and discreetly pursued, it ought not to cost any sacrifice to the business of the country. It should tend, on the contrary, to a revival of hope and confidence. The coin in the Treasury on the 30th of June, including what is held against coin certificates, amounted to nearly seventy-four millions. The current of precious metals which has flowed out of our country for the eleven years from July 1, 1865, to June 30, 1876, averaging nearly seventy-six millions a year, was eight hundred and thirty-two millions in the whole period, of which six hundred and seventeen millions were the pro-

duct of our own mines. To amass the requisite quantity, by intercepting from the current flowing out of the country, and by acquiring from the stocks which exist abroad without disturbing the equilibrium of foreign money markets, is a result to be easily worked out by practical knowledge and judgment. With respect to whatever surplus of legal-tenders the wants of business may fail to keep in use, and which, in order to save interest, will be returned for redemption, they can either be paid or they can be funded. Whether they continue as currency, or be absorbed into the vast mass of securities held as investments, is merely a question of the rate of interest they draw. Even if they were to remain in their present form, and the Government were to agree to pay on them a rate of interest making them desirable as investments, they would cease to circulate and take their place with Government, State, Municipal, and other corporate and private bonds, of which thousands of millions exist among us. In the perfect ease with which they can be changed from currency into investments lies the only danger to be guarded against in the adoption of general measures intended to remove a clearly ascertained surplus; that is, the withdrawal of any which are not a permanent excess beyond the wants of business. Even more mischievous would be any measure which affects the public imagination with the fear of an apprehended scarcity. In a community where credit is so much used, fluctuations of values and vicissitudes in business are largely caused by the temporary beliefs of men even before those beliefs can conform to ascertained realities.

The amount of the necessary currency at a given time cannot be determined arbitrarily, and should not be assumed on conjecture. That amount is subject to both permanent and temporary changes. An enlargement of it, which seemed to be durable, happened at the beginning of the civil war by a substituted use of currency in place of individual credits. It varies with certain states of business. It fluctuates, with considerable regularity, at different seasons of the year. In the autumn, for instance, when buyers of grain and other agricultural products begin their operations, they usually need to borrow capital or circulating credits by which to make their purchases, and want these funds in currency capable of being distributed in small sums among numerous sellers. The additional need of currency at such times is five or more per cent. of the whole volume, and, if a surplus beyond what is required for ordinary use does not happen to have been on hand at the money centres, a scarcity of currency ensues, and also a stringency in the loan market. It was in reference to such experiences that, in a discussion of this subject in my annual Message to the New-York Legislature of January 5, 1875, the suggestion was made that:

"The Federal Government is bound to redeem every portion of its issues which the public do not wish to use. Having assumed to monopolize the supply of currency and enacted exclusions against everybody else, it is bound to furnish all which the wants of business require."

* * * "The system should passively allow the volume of circulating credits to ebb and flow, according to the ever-changing wants of business. It should imitate, as closely as possible, the natural laws of trade, which it has superseded by artificial contrivances." And in a similar discussion in my Message of January 4, 1876, it was said that resumption should be effected "by such measures as would keep the aggregate amount of the currency self-adjusting during all the process, without creating, at any time, an artificial scarcity, and without exciting the public imagination with alarms which impair confidence, contract the whole large machinery of credit, and disturb the natural operations of business."

"Public economies, official retrenchments, and wise finance" are the means which the St. Louis Convention indicates as provision for reserves and redemptions. The best resource is a reduction of the expenses of the Government below its income; for that imposes no new charge on the people. If, however, the improvidence and waste which have conducted us to a period of falling revenues, oblige us to supplement the results of economies and retrenchments by some resort to loans, we should not hesitate. The Government ought not to speculate on its own dishonor, in order to save interest on its broken promises, which it still compels private dealers to accept at a fictitious par. The highest national honor is not only right, but would prove profitable. Of the public debt nine hundred and eighty-five millions bear interest at six per cent. in gold, and seven hundred and twelve millions at five per cent. in gold. The average interest is 5.58 per cent. A financial policy which should secure the highest credit, wisely availed of, ought gradually to obtain a reduction of one per cent. in the interest on most of the loans. A saving of one per cent. on the average would be seventeen millions a year in gold. That saving regularly invested at four and a half per cent. would, in less than thirty-eight years, extinguish the principal. The whole seventeen hundred millions of funded debt might be paid by this saving alone, without cost to the people.

The proper time for resumption is the time when wise preparations shall have ripened into a perfect ability to accomplish the object with a certainty and ease that will inspire confidence and encourage the reviving of business. The earliest time in which such a result can be brought about is the best. Even when the preparations shall have been matured, the exact date would have to be chosen with reference to the then existing state of trade and credit operations in our own country, the course of foreign commerce, and the condition of the exchanges with other nations. The specific measures and the actual date are matters of detail having reference to ever-changing conditions. They belong to the domain of practical administrative statesmanship. The captain of a steamer about starting from New York to Liverpool does not assemble a council over his ocean chart and fix an angle by which to lash the rudder for the whole voyage. A human intelligence must be at the helm to discern the shifting forces

of the waters and the winds. A human hand must be on the helm to feel the elements day by day, and guide to a mastery over them.

Such preparations are everything. Without them, a legislative command fixing a day, an official promise fixing a day, are shams: They are worse—they are a snare and a delusion to all who trust them. They destroy all confidence among thoughtful men whose judgment will at last sway public opinion. An attempt to act on such a command or such a promise, without preparation, would end in a new suspension. It would be a fresh calamity, prolific of confusion, distrust, and distress.

The act of Congress of the 14th of January, 1875, enacted that, on and after the 1st of January, 1879, the Secretary of the Treasury shall redeem in coin the legal-tender notes of the United States on presentation at the office of the Assistant Treasurer in the City of New York. It authorized the Secretary "to prepare and provide for" such resumption of specie payments by the use of any surplus revenues not otherwise appropriated; and by issuing, in his discretion, certain classes of bonds. More than one and a half of the four years have passed. Congress and the President have continued ever since to unite in acts which have legislated out of existence every possible surplus applicable to this purpose. The coin in the Treasury claimed to belong to the Government had, on the 30th of June, fallen to less than forty-five millions of dollars, as against fifty-nine millions on the first of January, 1875, and the availability of a part of that sum is said to be questionable. The revenues are falling faster than appropriations and expenditures are reduced, leaving the Treasury with diminishing resources. The Secretary has done nothing under his power to issue bonds. The legislative command, the official promise fixing a day for resumption, have thus far been barren. No practical preparations toward resumption have been made. There has been no progress. There have been steps backward. There is no necromancy in the operations of government. The homely maxims of every-day life are the best standards of its conduct. A debtor who should promise to pay a loan out of surplus income, yet be seen every day spending all he could lay his hands on in riotous living would lose all character for honesty and veracity. His offer of a new promise or his profession as to the value of the old promise would alike provoke derision.

The St. Louis platform denounces the failure for eleven years to make good the promise of the legal tender notes. It denounces the omission to accumulate "any reserve for their redemption." It denounces the conduct "which, during eleven years of peace, has made no advances toward resumption, no preparation for resumption, but instead has obstructed resumption by wasting our resources and exhausting all our surplus income; and, while professing to intend a speedy return to specie payments, has annually enacted fresh hindrances thereto." And having first denounced the barrenness of the promise of a day of resumption, it next denounces that barren promise as "a hindrance" to resumption. It then demands its repeal and

also demands the establishment of "a judicious system of preparation," for resumption. It cannot be doubted that the substitution of "a system of preparation" without the promise of a day for the worthless promise of a day without "a system of preparation" would be the gain of the substance of resumption in exchange for its shadow. Nor is the denunciation unmerited of that improvidence which, in the eleven years since the peace, has consumed four thousand five hundred millions of dollars, and yet could not afford to give the people a sound and stable currency. Two and a half per cent. on the expenditures of these eleven years, or even less, would have provided all the additional coin needful to resumption.

The distress now felt by the people in all their business and industries, though it has its principal cause in the enormous waste of capital occasioned by the false policies of our Government, has been greatly aggravated by the mismanagement of the currency. Uncertainty is the prolific parent of mischiefs in all business. Never were its evils more felt than now. Men do nothing because they are unable to make any calculations on which they can safely rely. They undertake nothing because they fear a loss in everything they would attempt. They stop and wait. The merchant dares not buy for the future consumption of his customers. The manufacturer dares not make fabrics which may not refund his outlay. He shuts his factory and discharges his workmen. Capitalists cannot lend on security they consider safe, and their funds lie almost without interest. Men of enterprise who have credit, or securities to pledge, will not borrow. Consumption has fallen below the natural limits of a reasonable economy. Prices of many things are under their range in frugal, specie-paying times before the civil war. Vast masses of currency lie in the banks unused. A year and a half ago the legal tenders were at their largest volume, and the twelve millions since retired have been replaced by fresh issues of fifteen millions of bank notes. In the meantime the banks have been surrendering about four millions a month, because they cannot find a profitable use for so many of their notes. The public mind will no longer accept shams. It has suffered enough from illusions. An insecure policy increases distrust. An unstable policy increases uncertainty. The people need to know that the Government is moving in the direction of ultimate safety and prosperity, and that it is doing so through prudent, safe, and conservative methods, which will be sure to inflict no new sacrifice on the business of the country. Then the inspiration of new hope and well-founded confidence will hasten the restoring processes of nature, and prosperity will begin to return. The St. Louis Convention concludes its expression in regard to the currency by a declaration of its convictions as to the practical results of the system of preparations it demands. It says: "We believe such a system, well devised, and above all, intrusted to competent hands for execution, creating at no time an artificial scarcity of currency, and at no time alarming the public mind into a withdrawal of that

vaster machinery of credit by which ninety-five per cent. of all business transactions are performed—a system open, public, and inspiring general confidence would, from the day of its adoption, bring healing on its wings to all our harassed industries, set in motion the wheels of commerce, manufactures, and the mechanic arts, restore employment to labor, and renew in all its natural sources the prosperity of the people.” The Government of the United States, in my opinion, can advance to a resumption of specie payments on its legal tender notes by gradual and safe processes tending to relieve the present business distress. If charged by the people with the administration of the Executive office, I should deem it a duty so to exercise the powers with which it has been or may be invested by Congress as best and soonest to conduct the country to that beneficent result.

The Convention justly affirms that reform is necessary in the civil service, necessary to its purification, necessary to its economy and its efficiency, necessary in order that the ordinary employment of the public business may not be “a prize fought for at the ballot-box, a brief reward of party zeal instead of posts of honor assigned for proved competency, and held for fidelity in the public employ.” The Convention wisely added that “Reform is necessary even more in the highest grades of the public service. President, Vice-President, Judges, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet officers, these and all others in authority are the people’s servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite, they are a public trust.” Two evils infest the official service of the Federal Government. One is the prevalent and demoralizing notion that the public service exists not for the business and benefit of the whole people, but for the interest of the office-holders, who are in truth but the servants of the people. Under the influence of this pernicious error public employments have been multiplied; the numbers of those gathered into the ranks of office-holders have been steadily increased beyond any possible requirement of the public business, while inefficiency, peculation, fraud, and malversation of the public funds, from the high places of power to the lowest, have overspread the whole service like a leprosy. The other evil is the organization of the official class into a body of political mercenaries, governing the caucuses and dictating the nominations of their own party, and attempting to carry the elections of the people by undue influence and by immense corruption funds systematically collected from the salaries or fees of office-holders. The official class in other countries, sometimes by its own weight, and sometimes in alliance with the army, has been able to rule the unorganized masses even under universal suffrage. Here, it has already grown into a gigantic power, capable of stifling the inspirations of a sound public opinion, and of resisting an easy change of administration, until misgovernment becomes intolerable and public spirit has been stung to the pitch of a civic revolution. The first step in reform is the elevation of the standard by which the appointing power selects agents to execute official trusts. Next in importance

is a conscientious fidelity in the exercise of the authority to hold to account and displace untrustworthy or incapable subordinates. The public interest in an honest, skillful performance of official trust must not be sacrificed to the usufruct of the incumbents. After these immediate steps, which will insure the exhibition of better examples, we may wisely go on to the abolition of unnecessary offices, and finally to the patient, careful organization of a better civil-service system, under the tests, wherever practicable, of proved competency and fidelity. While much may be accomplished by these methods, it might encourage delusive expectations if I withheld here the expression of my conviction that no reform of the civil service in this country will be complete and permanent until its Chief Magistrate is constitutionally disqualified for re-election, experience having repeatedly exposed the futility of self-imposed restrictions by candidates or incumbents. Through this solemnity only can he be effectually delivered from his greatest temptation to misuse the power and patronage with which the Executive is necessarily charged.

Educated in the belief that it is the first duty of a citizen of the Republic to take his fair allotment of care and trouble in public affairs, I have, for forty years, as a private citizen, fulfilled that duty. Though occupied in an unusual degree during all that period with the concerns of Government, I have never acquired the habit of official life. When, a year and a half ago, I entered upon my present trust, it was in order to consummate reforms to which I had already devoted several of the best years of my life. Knowing as I do, therefore, from fresh experience, how great the difference is between gliding through an official routine and working out a reform of systems and policies, it is impossible for me to contemplate what needs to be done in the Federal Administration without an anxious sense of the difficulties of the undertaking. If summoned by the suffrages of my countrymen to attempt this work, I shall endeavor, with God’s help, to be the efficient instrument of their will.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

To Gen. John A. McClelland, Chairman; Gen. W. B. Franklin, Hon. J. G. Abbott, Hon. H. J. Spannhorst, Hon. H. J. Redfield, Hon. F. S. Lyon, and others, Committee, &c.

Gov. Hendricks’ Letter of Acceptance.

INDIANAPOLIS, July 24, 1876.

GENTLEMEN: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication, in which you have formally notified me of my nomination by the National Democratic Convention, at St. Louis, as their candidate for the office of Vice-President of the United States. It is a nomination which I had neither expected nor desired; and yet I recognize and appreciate the high honor done me by the Convention. The choice of such a body, pronounced with such unusual unanimity, and accompanied with so generous an expression of esteem and confidence ought to outweigh all merely personal desires